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# A P P E A L

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## PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

TO

RELIEVE FROM STARVATION THE WOMEN AND  
CHILDREN OF THE GREEKS

OF THE

## ISLAND OF CRETE.



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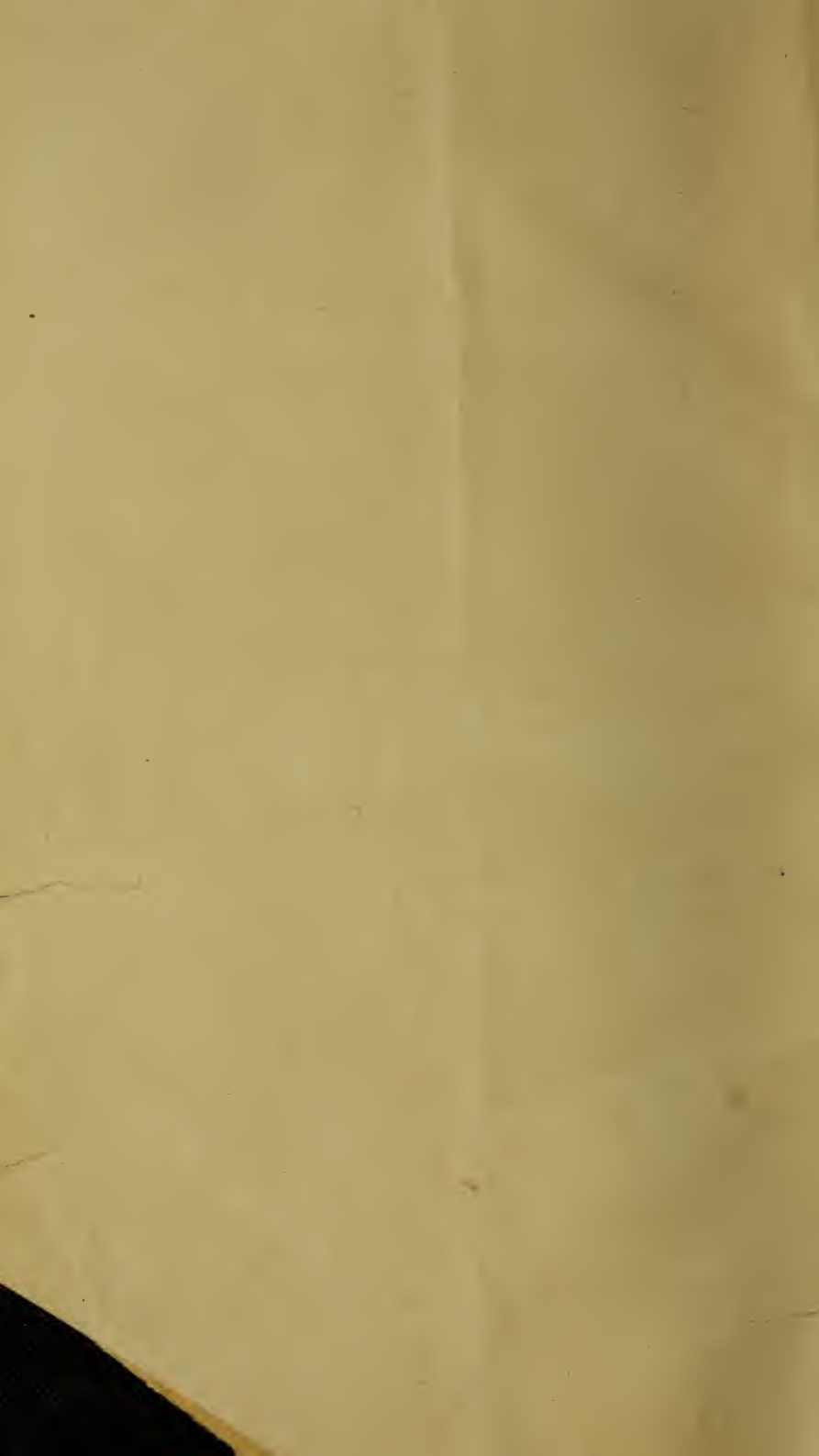
OF THE

## ISLAND OF CRETE.

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B O S T O N :

GEO. C. RAND & AVERY, PRINTERS, 3 CORNHILL.  
1867.



## To the People of the United States.

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THOUSANDS of the women and children of the Island of Crete (or Candia) appeal to Europe and America to save them from starvation. We will briefly state the causes of their suffering, and the necessity for its relief.

The Greek Revolution of 1821 lasted nine years. Of that revolution, the Greeks of the large Island of Crete were an integral part; and, when the Allied Powers intervened to determine the boundaries of Greece, Cretan successes had made the expulsion of the Turks from the island a certainty. Against the prophetic protests of statesmen like Palmerston, and to the horror of all Greece, the island was made over by the Allied Powers to Turkey; thus sacrificing the integrity of a race to a short-sighted diplomacy. From that day, Crete has been, confessedly, the worst governed of the Turkish provinces. The will of her governor has virtually been her only law; and, under the Turkish system of farming out her revenues, he pays an agreed sum to the Sultan, and then, under the name of taxes, extorts almost all of the yearly hard earnings of the people, whose personal and political rights he tramples under foot. Crete has protested in vain. She has respectfully and repeatedly appealed to the Sultan to give her the civil and religious rights guaranteed by the protocols of the Allied Powers and by his own later edicts, only to be spurned with contempt.

At last, human nature could endure such oppression no longer; and, on the 28th day of August last, the Cretans raised the Greek flag. Fighting began, and, notwithstanding the telegraphic despatches received through Turkish channels, is ably and fiercely maintained. Greeks from Greece and elsewhere, and Garibaldians from Italy, are pouring in to their

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aid. Turkey, utterly bankrupt, has called in the aid of Egypt. The Cretans ask for neither arms nor ammunition. They can do the fighting. They only ask that we save from actual starvation their women and children, who have fled and are flying to the neighboring islands and to Greece. Ten thousand of them have already reached Athens. Greece and Athens are themselves poor. As laying the country utterly waste, and the absolute extermination of men, women, and children, are the rules of Turkish warfare, and as the fighting men need the supplies consumed by the women and children, the Greeks propose to send away all of them. Once away, we have as indisputable a right, under international law, to save them from starvation, as if they were landed starving in Canada or on our own shores. In the Revolution of 1821, American supplies sought out and relieved the suffering women and children upon the island itself; and America is a sweet name in all Greek ears to-day.

It is not only a war for the relief of Crete from intolerable oppression: it is a war for the restoration of the integrity of the Greek race under one nationality; for Christianity against Mahometanism; for civilization against barbarism. It appeals to our common humanity, to our love of liberty, to our Christian faith. Were there no more imperative duty, and no more inspiring sentiment, it appeals to us as a commercial people, in the prospect of an enlarged, substantial, and friendly Greek nation opening new sources of trade with the Levant, and re-civilizing Asia Minor and Judæa.

This sad cry of distress is irresistible. We have, to be sure, our own poor and our own necessary charities. We have, too, our own extravagance and waste. Denying no just charity at home, let us remember that our own women and children are not starving.

The letter from our estimable United-States consul in Crete, which we print below, and a letter from the Cretan Central Committee to Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Boston, confirmed by public and private advices, induced the call for a public meeting, the eloquent addresses there made and herewith presented, and the appointment of a committee of citizens of



Boston, and other citizens of Massachusetts, to devise prompt methods and means of relief.

What shall be done? 1. It is proposed by the Committee to call upon Boston gentlemen and ladies of known means to contribute liberally in money; but, as it will be impossible to call upon many who ought to aid, it is respectfully urged that those not asked send their names and subscriptions to the Treasurer of the Committee.

2. It is earnestly recommended, not only that the other cities of Massachusetts, but more especially the other great cities of the country, appoint committees to take similar steps for prompt co-operative aid.

3. We are confident that Western cities, like Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Louis, if the necessary organizing steps are taken, will contribute freely in money, or in corn, flour, and pork; and that the railroads will aid gladly in the work of transportation. Good men and true, in their boards of trade and corn exchanges, will surely be found to give cheerful help. Within a year, corn has been burned for fuel in towns of the West lying upon railroads; and now corn placed on ship-board will soon be saving human life.

Finally, let every one help according to his means, and his bread shall come back to him and his country after many days.

It is desired that co-operative committees for collecting subscriptions and supplies be formed in the other large cities and towns of this and other States.

Special care will be taken to prevent any loss or abuse of contributions. If need be, responsible men will go out, without any charge whatever upon the funds contributed, to see that the supplies reach only real and worthy sufferers.

Contributions may be sent to the Treasurer or to any of the General Committee, or to the Executive Committee, at their office, No. 20, Bromfield Street, Boston.

Supplies for shipment may be sent to J. M. Rodocanachi, No. 30, Central Wharf.

SAMUEL G. HOWE, *President.*  
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The following letter is from our United-States consul in Candia, whose high character is well known in Boston : —

THE EASTERN WAR. — AN APPEAL FOR THE SUFFERING CRE-  
TANS. — UNITED-STATES CONSULATE, CANEA.

*To the Editor of "The New-York Times,"*—Will you permit me to make, through your columns, an appeal to the American people in behalf of the Cretan families reduced to destitution and suffering by the destruction of their crops and villages in consequence of the pending hostilities?

Thousands of them, self-exiled to the nearest Greek islands, are without employment or provisions for the winter; and those who remain of the women and children seek to join the more fortunate refugees.

If the world's charity is not large to these unfortunates, there will be such suffering as has not been known in this part of the world since the Greek Revolution, when American charity saved the lives of thousands of Cretans, and won blessings which are still clinging to our nation.

What we want is, not arms or material to strengthen the insurgents, but bread to keep women and children from perishing. Will not the charitable organize some effort to keep our Christian poor from starvation? The Greeks are doing all they can; but the sufferers are many, and the Greek nation poor.

Contributions might be sent by any Levant-bound ship to Syra, care of the United-States Consular-General, Em. Sapun-zacki; but what would be worthier of us would be to send a ship freighted for these unfortunates.

Yours sincerely,

W. J. STILLMAN,

*U. S. Consul, Canea, Island of Crete.*



The following eloquent speeches of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Rev. Dr. Huntington, and Mr. Wendell Phillips, were made at a public meeting in Boston on the evening of Jan. 7, 1867. Dr. Kirk was unable to be present; but we print his written speech.

## REMARKS OF DR. HOWE.

*Fellow-citizens and Friends*, — History repeats herself wonderfully, even within the lifetime of one man. Excuse me, therefore, if, in illustration of the object of our meeting, I allude oftener to my own experience than good taste warrants. Forty-five years ago, the world was startled by the news that the Greeks, who had been enslaved four centuries, had revolted, driven out their Turkish oppressors, gained great successes, and that the revolt promised to become a revolution. The Turks, taken at first by surprise, and driven out of the country, returned with vast armies; and the struggle was renewed.

This country was deeply interested, and even painfully agitated; and people looked with anxiety for news by every

packet. The odds were fearfully against the Greeks; and we received frequent news of their overthrow and of their submission, as we now do about the Cretans. All people, at home and abroad, who sympathized with despotism, said these reports must be true; while all who sympathized with freedom hoped they might be false. We were frequently told that the Greeks had been routed, scattered, massacred, and exterminated. They were declared to be "crushed out," as often as our old friends the abolitionists were; but somehow they kept rising up again. I therefore resolved to go and learn the truth, and to lend a helping hand if there were yet time.

Everybody whom I met on the way said it was no use to go on; that it was all over with the Greeks; and that the Turks were burying the bodies of the slain, just as they are said to be doing now in Crete.

When at last I dropped from an Austrian vessel upon the coast of Maina, near old Sparta, I found that the Greeks — "within a narrower ring, beset, comprest, hopeless, not heartless — strove and struggled yet." It was a war to the knife; a war without quarter, without mercy, — even to women and children. *Væ victis!*

Byron had just died; and many foreigners who had come to help the cause were going away discouraged.

But the Greeks were united and resolute, without thought of surrender, or even of compromise. There was not a copperhead among them.

They struggled on another year, when the armies of the Sultan became so much reduced, and his resources so exhausted, that he was obliged to do exactly as he has done in the struggle with the Cretans.

He called upon the Pacha of Egypt, his nominal satrap, who sent a large and disciplined army and a powerful fleet. The Greeks could not cope with these disciplined troops; but they would not submit, and, retreating to the mountains, carried on a guerilla war with the invaders, pouncing down upon their flanks, and harassing them in every possible way.

The Egyptians did exactly as they have been doing lately in Crete. They overran all the open country, and burnt the



towns and villages, literally razing the buildings to the ground. They cut down the groves of orange, olive, and lemon; and they tore up the vines; thus not only killing every living thing, but trying to prevent any thing from growing. By this process, the Greeks were in danger of being utterly starved out.

During that dark and dreadful period, I saw thousands and thousands of women and children who had fled to the mountains, seeking shelter in the caverns, under the lee of rocks, under rude tents, sheltered anyhow, and living on roots, sorrel, snails, dogs, donkeys, — any thing that could be found.

I could then digest a donkey's leg better than I can now digest a chicken's wing. So I could stand it pretty well, and so could other young men; but the women and children suffered dreadfully from cold, exposure, and hunger, aggravated by fear and by despair, — just as the women and children of the Cretans are now suffering.

It became manifest, however, that even snails and sorrel and dogs and cats would be soon exhausted; and that, if Greece was to be saved, it must be by help from abroad. Soon help was coming in from Europe, and a little from the United States, but not enough: so I came home, and told the tale. The result was the raising of a very large sum of money, and the sending-out several cargoes of food and clothing. I went back in one of the ships, and attended to the distribution personally.

Knowing the whole coast, I took lighters and boats to various points; and people flocked down by thousands from their hiding-places in the mountains to get their share: they came haggard and weak and foot-sore and half naked. They ate and drank, and put on the clothes, and wended their way back, carrying flour and corn in bags, and garments for their little ones in bundles, and joy and hope in their hearts. Their appearance was grotesque enough. They hardly knew how to put on the strange garments; and, besides, the tender hearts of our women had led them to make a score of children's petticoats and shirts to one garment for a grown person. So the Greek women would take three or four of these,

and make for themselves one garment, without much regard to color or pattern.

But the effect was marvellous: not only were thousands fed and clad, but the report thereof went abroad, and was magnified an hundred-fold; and men said, "Courage; hold on to your arms; help is at hand! Far-off republican America is coming to our aid!" And they held on.

As, in the miracle of the loaves and fishes, the godlike virtue of Him who brake the bread gave to it power to fill the multitude; so the love and good will of the American people filled the hearts of the Greeks with courage and hope.

They held out two years more; and I hesitate not to say — for I was there all the time to see, and had become as one of them — that the American supplies did more than any one thing to keep up the courage of the people, and lengthen out their struggle for independence.

At the end of two years, the Christian world had become so shocked by the persistence of a semi-barbarous Mahometan power to subjugate a Christian people even in Europe, that the governments of France, England, and Russia were forced to send a large fleet to the scene of warfare, and to insist on a pacification.

An accident brought on the great sea-fight at Navarino, and the utter destruction of the Egyptian and Turkish fleet.

That unexpected and "untoward event," as it is called by a British cabinet minister, assured and secured the independence of Greece, at least so far as the Mahometans were concerned, because it left the Greeks masters at sea. No more troops could come from Egypt. None could come from Turkey by land; for we held the passes, and the Isthmus of Corinth. As for the Turkish armies in Greece, they would have soon been starved; for they themselves had utterly destroyed all sources of supply.

But the Allied Powers would not let slip the opportunity which the "untoward event" at Navarino gave them to crush out the republican institutions which the Greeks had established. So they put a Bavarian prince upon a throne; and a French army came to support him, as they afterwards attempted to support a sprig of royalty in Mexico.



Then they proceeded to arrange the boundaries, and shocked all Greece when they declared that Crete should be left out of the new kingdom, and given over to the Turks.

The Cretans had been a long time in revolt. They had taken and they held one of the strongest fortifications. The inhabitants had indeed abandoned much of the open country, and retreated to the mountain-range of the interior, where the brave Sphakiotes maintained their independence, and kept the flag of Greece flying.

The Cretans everywhere shared the dangers and the struggles of the other Greeks, and were distinguished for patriotism and good sense.

I knew hundreds of them, — good men and true. I had been in their beautiful island, and stood a siege with them in one of their beleaguered fortresses, and witnessed their courage. I knew that the independence of Crete was just as well assured by the result at Navarino as that of any part of Greece. Giving up the Cretans, therefore, to the Turks, seemed to me then as unrighteous and cruel as seems now the proposal to give up the negroes who fought with us and for us to the dominion of their old masters, without even a ballot-box for defence.

But Greece was forced to disarm : she was utterly at the mercy of the Allied Powers ; and Crete was given over, bound hand and foot, to her enemies and her old oppressors.

The Cretans have suffered ever since all the indignities and wrongs and barbarous oppression which Christian subjects of Turkey always suffer when they live so remote from the capital that even the little protection which the Porte affords cannot reach them. At last they have revolted, and have maintained a struggle at fearful odds, but gallantly and successfully, for several months.

They have been driven at last from the open country ; their towns have been destroyed, their villages burned, their fields ravaged, their olive-groves and vineyards cut down or pulled up : and so it is the old story over again. I see them now, the sons of my old companions, in their snowy camise and their shaggy capotes, saying sadly, “ Good-by, mother ! good-by, sister and child ! Seek your refuge in the neighboring isles,

upon the main, wherever the hand of Christian mercy may aid you : we go to the mountains, to keep the flag of freedom flying so long as we live."

My friends, these unfortunate women and children are now suffering as many of their mothers suffered forty years ago.

Your fathers and your mothers relieved them : will you not relieve their children ?

My friends, this is not a mere struggle between a few islanders and their oppressors ; for, though it is no fault of the Cretans, their island has become the field for the last fight between Greece and Turkey, between Christianity and Mahometanism, between freedom and despotism, in the Levant. Diplomacy says we may not interfere as a nation ; but humanity says we ought to interfere as men and women, and at least feed the hungry and clothe the naked.



## REMARKS OF REV. DR. KIRK.



*Fellow-citizens*,—It is the cry of distress that brings us here together to-night. To disregard that cry would show us to be inhuman. But we hear more than that in the accounts and appeals which have come to us from that outpost of classic Greece. We hear the surging of that mighty tidal wave which is rolling over the moral world,—a wave whose impulse, like the tides of ocean, comes from the powers above. Statesmen and captains may figure largely in the recent and present agitations of America and Europe ; but they neither originate nor regulate these mighty movements.

European statesmen trace the agitations that are perpetually disturbing their delicate balance of power to Washington and St. Petersburg. This is shallow. What cabinet at Washington could ever have induced one million freemen of the North to sever every tie of life, and subject themselves to the tyranny and the sacrifice of military life, until they should see

the hideous idol of the South — the Juggernaut of America — lie headless, dethroned, and abandoned in the dust, and the banner of freedom waving unchallenged over every foot of his usurped dominions? No, brethren; the world is moving onward; the kingdom is coming; the Spirit that brooded over ancient chaos has now spread his wings over the moral chaos of a half-regenerated world. Under the breath of his Creator, man is awakening to a new conception of his rights, his capacities, and his destiny. That explains the Cretan insurrection, as well as many other movements that are now disturbing the repose of men holding power.

We are assembled to aid each other in the contemplation of one section of the vast battle-field to which the battle of Bunker Hill has now been transferred, — might against right, barbarism against civilization, the many against the few, Mahomet against Christ. The main issues are still and ever the same in every age, while each period and place has its peculiar phases and features. The question, then, brought home to each of us by the present occasion, is this: How does the scene affect me? Have I a heart, a human heart, a Christ-like heart? Are my sympathies with Islam or with Jesus, the brutal Turk or the offspring of classic Greece, now baptized in Jesus' name? When the famine invaded that land, we flew to their relief. Now the cry is not merely nor mainly for bread: it is for liberty like our own, for their Christian altars, for their very lives. No, not their lives: them they are surrendering freely. When the venerable Gabriel, head of the renowned Monastery of Arkàdi, surrounded by a hundred and seventy fighting men, and more than three hundred women and children, had defended his monastery for two days with great bravery against sixteen thousand Turks, rather than surrender to such an enemy, with the consent of all, he applied the match to the magazine, and buried himself, his friends, and their foes, in a common grave.

No, it is not for their lives they are now begging at our doors. With a heroism never surpassed, they have consecrated the life of every man capable of bearing arms to their country's deliverance. They ask not that we should interfere in the fight, or shield them in battle, or even save them from

the brutal scimeter that murders prisoners of war. This is their simple request: having sent away their wives and children, whom the Turkish soldier first subjects to every degradation, and then slaughters, they ask us to save those loved ones from starvation, while they make their own bodies a rampart around their dwellings; that, if possible, their children may yet live in that beloved island-home, free from the oppression that has ground them to the dust. We must heed their cry; for they are men, suffering men, oppressed and outraged. They are mainly Greeks, long lost to the world through the crushing power of Turkish provincial despotism. They are a Christian race, crying, like Israel in Egypt, to God and to man; for the burden has now become intolerable. They are a Christian race: and yet the mighty Christian powers of Europe have combined to deliver them over to the tender mercies of an organized banditti, to thieves and murderers; for such, by its very structure, is the provincial department of the Turkish Government. The only power the Sublime Porte leaves to itself is that of enforcing the tyrannical requirements and the cruel extortions of its pachas. And, to complete the misery of our brethren, the leading presses of Europe lend their prodigious influence to keep the Christian world satisfied with this state of things.

But we must act with discretion as well as zeal. In the flush of our excited sympathies, we meet a question that commands our respectful attention: *Have you a right to help them?* Here is a rebellion against an established government. Is not our interference in direct disregard of Washington's counsel against intervention, and meddling with the political affairs of other nations? Is not this just what we so much censured in Englishmen during our recent struggle? I first reply by stating what ground we do not take. It is true, the doctrine of non-intervention, as interpreted by European practice, is a nose of wax; it is true that this very government of Turkey over Crete is a most detestable specimen of intervention, an abominable sacrifice of the weak to the interests of the strong, a barbarous power established by Christian governments over a Christian people; it is true that we regard the whole system called the "balance of power" as an outrage and disgrace



to the age in which we live. But we vindicate our course by none of these considerations. We acknowledge that the law of nations requires a political recognition of every *de facto* government, without a moral scrutiny into its origin. Some might say, "Let us follow our generous impulses, and leave to the Government the task of checking us if we go too far." But that is not American. We leave that policy to the builders of "The Alabama" and the blockade-runners. We are not under masters and spies: we control the Government; instructing our legislators, forming the public sentiment that guides their action. Our business is to keep the Government right, rather than tempt it to connive at wrong. That is the theory of republican politics.

In assembling to-night, we are indeed indirectly aiding the insurrection by furnishing the insurgents the moral aid of sympathy, and by diminishing that solicitude for their exiled families, which would so far enfeeble them as fighting men. But there are rights of neutral nations as well as of belligerents; and, in the legitimate exercise of those rights, we are assembled to-night. The moral purpose of this meeting is legitimate. We are assembled to enter our protest, and offer our remonstrance, before the civilized world, against the original act which dismembered and denationalized Greece, and placed the Cretans under this terrible despotism. It may be too late to undo what has been done, but not too late to form a public conscience which even selfish diplomatists must respect. The sufferings of this unhappy people, trodden under the iron heels of merciless satraps, are the necessary and foreseen consequences of the arrangements made by the Allied Powers after the Greek Revolution. In making this protest, we are violating no article in that venerable code, the law of nations. We are assembled to express to each other and the world, and especially to our suffering brethren, our deep fraternal sympathy with them in their protracted misery, and also in their fervent desires and heroic efforts to cast off the vile bondage to which they have been subjected by the selfish policy of stronger nations.

But we are going farther, — to furnish substantial aid; not any thing, however, contraband of war. We send no arms to

Crete, but food to Greece; no succor to the army, but bread to famishing women and children in another country than that which is the seat of war. The Supreme Court of the United States determined, in the case of "*The Commercen*,"\* that provisions destined for the ordinary use of life, even in the enemy's country, were not contraband. But we go farther than this, and maintain that Turkey has placed herself outside the pale of civilized nations; and she has no more right to appeal to the international law to which they mutually submit than the Southern rebels have to plead the doctrines of that Constitution which they cast to the winds, disregarding its every requirement for themselves, and endeavoring to bind us by its restrictions.

There is one light in which it is painful to us to take this ground. There are Turkish gentlemen. We have a representative at the court of the Mussulman, and his government is represented in Washington; but we must nevertheless insist on the facts, which they cannot deny. However civilized and cultivated the Sultan and his courtiers may be, their very system of provincial government is an organized system of oppression, violence, and robbery. The very doctrines of their Koran, and of their leader Mahomet, make them unfit to govern Christian races. He taught them that heretics have no right to live; and their inference from the doctrine is, that any thing short of death is unmerited mercy. We cannot admit, that, in dealing with such a people, we are bound by the laws that regulate the intercourse of Christian nations. We draw, then, this line of distinction. In matters purely political, in foreign Christian nations, we have no right to go beyond the expression of opinion; but, with moral questions, we are bound as Christians to concern ourselves, and to act as well as speak, whether they arise in our own or foreign countries. And with barbarism and brutality we have a right to contend, wherever in God's dominion they are found. And, as to this Turkish rule in Crete, even the British Government has been constrained, it is said, to propose a Christian governor for this

\* 1 Wheaton, 382, as quoted in Kent's Com. i. 140.



outraged people, as she has discovered that a pacha's rule is not a government.

This war is not a civilized war, but a war of savages. To such an extent is this true, that the foreign consuls have threatened to resign their posts if it continues to be, what they denominate, "a war of wild beasts;" women and children, and prisoners of war, being uniformly massacred by the conquering Turks.



## REMARKS OF REV. DR. HUNTINGTON.



*Mr. President,*—Apart from the duty and the privilege presented to us of affording relief to the hunger and homelessness of some hundreds or thousands of sufferers by bodily destitution, an opportunity is here set open, which has another kind, if not a higher degree, of dignity. It is more than probable, that, in ministering to the persons of these poor islanders, we are at the same time doing something to succor a national life, and are helping to build up, out of ready materials, a kingdom of free men. Would it be strange, if in the mind of Americans, whose own national life may be said to have been born of an instinct for independence, this of itself should prove to be a motive of commanding power for prompt and munificent liberality? The real problem in Crete appears to be the liberating of a large and thriving though insular population, to be formed ultimately into a component element in the constitution of a future Greek empire or republic, commensurate with the capacities and traditions of that remarkable race. As must be well known to many in this assembly, the Greek people have retained through all these centuries of political change many of their best characteristics. They are intelligent; they are proverbially brave; their love of liberty is a passion,—a passion profound as the philosophy that Plato taught them, and ardent as their blood. Of their intellectual

superiority, it is quite true that its modern manifestations are not in the same proportion, or on the same scale, or in the same lines of inventive and original thought, as in the days of Pericles, or of the great orators, epic and tragic poets, artists, and statesmen, that went before and came after him. Doubtless the light has been partly dimmed, and the vigor has been partly depressed, under these ages of external disability and disadvantage. Who can wonder at that? But there are other forms of mental energy and activity besides the distinctive accomplishments of scholarship and jurisprudence and the creations of the elegant arts. Even these are not by any means wholly wanting among the better classes of the descendants of those great masters living in our own day. In the cultivation of language, in the sciences, and, what is a great deal better, in a liberal and comprehensive appreciation of the benefits of a general diffusion of knowledge, with plans of popular education, Athens is even now the centre of a vast influence; having, in fact, not many peers among the cities of the Old World or the New. There are twice as many students now at Athens as at Cambridge. The press, the ballot, the judicial tribunals with trial by jury, are free. No mistake can be greater than to suppose, that, in that "garden of great intellects,"—borrowing a phrase even more descriptive of the place than of the British Oxford, to which its author applied it,—the ruins of ancient grandeur are the only attraction. I remember perfectly the fresh enthusiasm with which the lamented President Felton—whose earnest voice and genial face would certainly be heard and seen in the chief place among us here to-night if Providence had spared him to learning and to the multitude of friends that loved him—used always to describe the ripe culture and advanced curriculum of studies in the Athenian National University, often reading letters from his correspondents in the several chairs in proof of both; and it was the opinion, I believe, of one of the most observing and competent of our New-England travellers abroad, not long ago deceased,—Mr. George Sumner,—after an examination on the spot, that the present public educational system of Greece takes rank with the very foremost in the world.

But it is not merely, as I was just observing, in fashions of eminence distinctively literary, that the intellect of the modern Greeks discovers its quickness and power. Sail from one seaport to another along all the north-eastern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, with the Archipelago, the Dardanelles, and the Bosphorus; travel from Trieste to Alexandria; and, wherever you find Greek commerce or traffic, you find not only a business forecast and shrewdness that are a match for the liveliest wits of the West, but, in many instances, remarkable powers of combination and generalization, such as make up everywhere the master-merchant as distinguished from the ordinary trader. I suppose there are gentlemen in this hall that have had commercial transactions in those waters, who would say, that, all over the Levant, the ablest bankers, capitalists, and leaders of enterprise, are of that sagacious, versatile, penetrating nation; that the best thinking in the East is done by Greek heads; and, in short, that, of South-eastern Europe and Western Asia, Greece is the brain.

Now, when you add to this trait a courage that is unsurpassed in the annals of heroism, illustrated in these recent engagements and defences in Crete, and a love of liberty, that, while it is inborn and inbred, yet evidently holds life itself cheap as the price of that liberty, it surely becomes conceivable, that by and by, out of these thoughtful and patriotic and progressive communities, scattered here and there in all the principal seats of population, a rallying-cry will be heard, a stronger movement of union and organization will take place; and so, when "the sick man" dies, Europe may witness the establishment there of a great Christian commonwealth. It may miscarry; it may be postponed; it may fail altogether; this spirited uprising in Crete to throw off the Moslem despotism may contribute nothing to it; it may be crushed: but there are minds in that part of the world, Italy included, to which the insurrection means nothing less. And it is for us to say whether it is either magnanimous or manly to let the chances of success weigh much in the giving or withholding of our sympathy. The Greek Cretans are worth saving to freedom. There is something very touching and very affecting in the attitude of a struggling and honorable cause im-

ploring kindness from an older and stronger and prosperous sister, that has been a winner in the battle of human rights. Have we fought that battle out twice, Mr. President, for ourselves only, or in part also for the world, and for our kindred, in whatever continent or corner of it, who ask and need our help?

To me, I confess, there is a peculiar promise in the signs of this Hellenic revolution or consolidation, because it seems to hold in it the principles of a sound and legitimate civilization. It is indigenous; it strikes its roots in a native soil; it rises on the Past, and that not a dead Past burying its dead, but a Past that survives and lives in the life of to-day. I believe that is a portion of the philosophy of a genuine national development. It must be part and parcel with all elements of climate, geography, memory, hope, experience, association, worship, on the soil. It is a growth, not a fabrication; an organic life, not a mechanism. The very juices of the ground, the shadows of the hills, the music of the streams or the ocean, the restlessness of the winds, go into it. No matter if Greece *seemed* to die, and to be living, Greece no more: it comes to life again. In the wonderful language of that land of beauty, there is a singularly beautiful verb, which signifies, in a single term, the putting-forth of new verdure in a thing, like the green leaves on the branches of a tree in spring after the dryness and bareness of winter. St. Paul uses it to praise the reviving charity of the Christians at Philippi. It must be the hope and the prayer, I think, of every true republican heart in these States, that the sense of that figure may be realized, and that the powers and liberties of those oppressed and martyred patriots may put out bud and leaf, and flower and fruit, and flourish again.

In the comparison of the two contending parties, there can be no room for hesitation. In spite of his monotheism, the Turk is essentially a barbarian. The softening, refining, elevating, and expansive influences of the catholic spirit of Christianity have not reached him: he rejects them. The sword is the symbol of his religion, the instrument of his statesmanship, and, I may say, the delight of his despotism. Can it be wondered at, if, in this stout-hearted little island, he



starves and slaughters infants and their mothers, suffocates hundreds of peasants in caves, sets fire to olive-trees and villages, desolates the face of the earth? Doubtless it is, to some extent, a war of faiths and creeds. But in that issue I am sure we shall all be agreed as to which class of disciples we shall first try to feed and clothe. We may pray, we can pray heartily, for the Turk, that, with other wanderers, the Great Shepherd would "fetch him home to his flock;" but we must stand by the lambs of that flock when he becomes the wolf to ravage it. Beyond question, there are grave and conspicuous moral faults in these Greeks. Temptation and wrong have wrought their mischief upon them; but they have never lost the truth of revelation, and they keep the grace of devotion. Ever since the apostle who understood them so well, landing at the Piræus, and bringing with him the morning light of the new religion to spread it over pagan Europe, pronounced them, at Mars Hill, "too superstitious," or, more exactly, too indiscriminately religious, they have been easy to believe. We remember, too, that it was when Greeks came seeking him, and inquiring into his teachings, just on the eve of his suffering, that the Saviour uttered that prophetic exclamation of a closing earthly ministry, "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified." Nor can the Christian scholar forget that it was in their musical tongue that the Eastern fathers wrote; that the eloquence of Chrysostom, pleading for the poor of Antioch and Constantinople, has resounded through Christendom; nay, that the Lord and his evangelists and apostles spoke and recorded the words of life that abide forever. I notice in the newspapers that the military oath of these Cretan volunteers is administered by the priest; and that each soldier, while he swears to fight for the union of Crete with the kingdom of Greece, vows to protect the person and property of every Christian everywhere.

Of the merits and fortunes of the contest thus far, you are all informed as well as despatches liable to constant hostile manipulation and distortion permit. The government of the Porte has levied a tax for the support of the war on Greek subjects. It boasts of "concessions," which impartial Euro-

pean contemporaries pronounce the bitterest irony ever exhibited by a diplomacy without bowels to a despoiled people. Lord Palmerston declared in the House of Commons, nearly forty years ago, that the Turks had no rightful possession in Crete. I have seen statements from files of an Athenian newspaper of dates as far back as last May and June, showing, in reply to contrary assertions of the Governor-General of the Ottoman Government, that the Cretans respectfully appealed to the head of the empire before resorting to arms. The Turks took the offensive about the last of August. A few weeks ago, there were said to be twenty-five thousand insurgents acting on the defence in the mountains that intersect the island. They are from all classes of the people, — merchants, students, professors, artisans, peasants, — mostly ill clad and ill armed, but of indomitable resolution, and a most determined hope. They cite the routing of Napoleon's veterans, victorious on all the battle-fields of Europe, by the peasantry of Spain, with rusty muskets and clasp-knives. They do not ask now for equipments or weapons of war. The General Assembly in September petitioned only for steamers to carry the women and children to some safe retreat. We are proposing only to do for them, our friends, what Christ bids us do for foes: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him." The balance of European powers is too delicately adjusted to allow much of even that harmless sort of benefaction through any official channels. But Englishmen are already before us: they have appointed a committee of relief, with a large number of the nobility and members of Parliament serving upon it.

Unquestionably, it is present to the thoughts of many here, who have reflected on the matter, that there may be questions of international precedent, if not of obligation, involved in some of its bearings, such as to raise a doubt how far we can extend mercy to the Greek, and not commit a breach of comity or equity with the Turk. Without enlarging much in that direction, let me only say, that, to any misgivings on that score, two considerations seem to suggest themselves in reply. The one is, that while, in whatever action we may take here, we are subject to regulation by the law of our own Government, we are not acting as officers of that Government, but as



citizens; or rather we are not diplomatists and political representatives at all, but simply men.

“Before man made us citizens, great Nature made us men;”

and that “Nature” is God. The Government, we may presume, is competent to take care of its etiquette with its non-intervention policy, and to take care of us if we become transgressors: in other words, we shall be restrained from mischief by law if we venture too much in charity. But by all means, in the name of human brotherhood, let us make the venture; because the second consideration is, that, around the domain of legal precedent and prescription, there spreads, there always has spread, and always will, a margin for the large constructions and grand liberties of love. All honor to “the powers that be;” all due obedience to the law that is “the mother of our peace and joy:” not less, but more of that, is one of the chief needs of our people. But there are two codes of that law, as there were two tables of the statutes at Sinai. Both are “ordained of God.” The one is written on our hearts as legibly as the other in the books. It would be a wrong to the latter, and to Him whose authority it represents, if we deny or disobey the first. Till the limits between what nations may do and may not do for one another are more clearly defined than they have been yet, we shall be justified in running some noble risks for mercy’s sake. How preposterous to pretend that only when the elements of Nature have been unkind, only when frost and drought blight the harvest, only when Nature’s fire devours, or floods drown, or seasons disappoint, we may send the freights of our good will across the sea; but that when the cruelty is man’s, when a human oppressor blasts the fields, when it is a Turk’s torch that sets the fire, or a Turk’s axe that plays the famine’s part, and cuts down the vineyard and the olive-garden, then we must fold our hands, and keep our corn and wine and oil to ourselves! God forbid! Not so reads the original and blessed charter of our human compassion, older than treaties, and never annulled; and not so reads the parable of the Good Samaritan, which interprets and applies that proclamation. The way is perfectly open for this work of good. No right

will be violated, no pledge broken, no national friendship that is worth having disturbed. On the contrary, a much higher friendship would be insulted, and many lofty inspirations would have to be quenched, if it were refused.

Very simple, therefore, dear friends, very easy, very natural, it would seem, very right and comforting both to giver and receiver, will the office of your Christian charity be. Perhaps it will be only the opening of a few baskets of bread for a few hungry mouths. All charity is sacred; and this would be too like that which sanctified the hill-sides of Galilee to be despised. But perhaps it will also grow to be the reaching-forth of the hand of a great nation's fellowship to another nation once great, destined to be great once more, and great now in most of the real attributes of greatness. Perhaps it will be a generous illustration of what seems to be one of the glories of our times, wrought out by a thousand humane causes, — the neighborhood and even the brotherhood of nations. Perhaps we shall be doing something to encourage free-minded men, free in thought, free in feeling, free by the legislation of Heaven, free in every thing but an accidental and temporary tyranny hindering the civil regeneration that would embody that freedom in institutions and laws. At least, we shall assure them that freemen on this side of the Atlantic remember them, and care for them, and offer them a New-Year's blessing and God-speed, in the name of humanity and its Father in heaven.

Hearty applause was bestowed upon the expression of Dr. Huntington's sentiments and the considerations advanced in his address. Wendell Phillips was then presented, and received his usual indorsement by a Boston audience. He addressed the meeting in the following language: —

## REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

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*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—We are here to consider the question of Cretan relief. Who are the Cretons? and what is the question of the relief of Crete? Five thousand miles off, an island not as large as our own little Massachusetts has risen in arms to claim its rights: not primarily political rights; not, first, independence, legislation, ballots; but the right to earn bread in peace; the right to worship God in safety; the right of woman to her purity; the right of the child to school and to home; the bare human rights pertaining to human nature everywhere, under all circumstances, — God-given, — which no power has a right under any circumstances to invade. [Applause.] This is what Crete rises to claim. What method does she take to claim it? I should say, in the first place, no need for us to ask. How long shall a man submit to the denial of such rights? My answer is, Just so long as, and up to that point where, he has an honorable chance to escape from it. [Applause.] The moment Nature and God put within his reach the power of deliverance, it is not only his right, but it is his duty, to himself, to his children, to the world, to tear the chain off his limbs. It is for him to choose whether this shall be by argument, by appeal to the good sense and the good heart of his oppressor, or by arms. We have no right to dictate. The choice lies with the victim, knowing how much he has suffered, how much he can do, and the chances that are before him; and when man rises anywhere, the world over, to claim these rights, and is willing to accord to others what he claims for himself, by all the considerations that make human brotherhood, — one God, one blood, and one future, — he may claim of his fellow-man sympathy and aid. [Applause.] No form of government, no parchment, however sacred, has any right to stand between man and man in such emergency.

This is a mere abstract statement of the relations, as I conceive, between a man and his fellow, the world over. But

what is Crete? What is this island that sends its claim for sympathy half round the globe? It is an island peopled distinctively by one race. That race has a common nationality. No part of it has ever allowed oppression or defeat to sunder that nationality. All Greece — Greece proper and all her islands — for five hundred years has never left one generation without a protest of arms or of argument against the denial of its rights by the force of surrounding nations. Like its own legend of the giant under the sister island, Sicily, of the Mediterranean, there has never been a moment when Crete or the Morea has suffered in silence. Their protest, like his resistance, has unceasingly rocked the Continent, or lashed the Archipelago into storms. They may claim, that at no time, within the history of man, has the consent of the Greek race ever been given to the power coercing them. It is such a community that comes to us protesting against the sword, without one element that in our philosophy goes to make up a *government*. Their nationality unbroken, they have submitted only to absolute necessity of silence when worn out by struggle and bloodshed. Against what have they been struggling? Against a faith, the fundamental principle of which is, that every thing which dissents from it has no right to live. Crete defies to-day a despotism which is but another name for a faith which claims the right to exterminate every thing that does not believe its own creed. It is not a pure despotism like that which existed in feudal Europe and in ancient times; but it is something which calls itself a state, founded on the principle that one portion of the human race has no right to live. Am I sinning against American ethics, against Christian ethics, when I say that a power which denies the right of the Greeks even to life, has no right, in the eye of God and justice, to assert its authority over races and realms that have for two thousand years denied its creed? If that is not justice, then one part of the human race, under the mask of government, has a right to exterminate the other. And yet this is the form of government against which Crete has maintained her perpetual protest; and though seeming peace, under the guise of vast taxes and cruel assaults on life, honor, comfort, prosperity, permits to the Christian population



the toleration of an existence, yet the moment the slightest arm lifted against government justifies the Turk in falling back upon the Koran, his war of extermination is not exceptional: it is the cardinal constitution of his realm. Remember, then, we friends of Greece are not asking for the sympathy of the Christian and civilized world for one section of a nation contending for political rights against another; but we are asking, for a race unalterably Christian, never divided, never fairly conquered, the liberty to rise, until there is no hope in rising, against a despotism concealed behind a creed which not only tolerates, but orders, the extermination of man, woman, and child. For one, I am ready to say, in the face of all civilization, that I see no right in any Christian nation to acknowledge such alliance and friendship for a power resting on such a claim as will prevent any of its citizens from stretching forth their hands, with any amount or quality of aid, to the victims who rise up against such oppression. [Applause.] I can see a reason in international law, why, if France should rise against her government, or Germany against hers, bad as we think them, there might be a limit beyond which expediency and the law of Christendom would not permit us to step. But the Turk is only encamped in Europe. He has never yet, viewed in the light of the principles of justice and law, advanced the first claim to recognition as an equal in the sisterhood of nations. That power which undertakes to starve women and children; to deny to the victim race the right to appeal to its own tribunals; which says to the Christian, "Your faith shuts you out from testifying to injury before the law;" which at the first indication of resistance exterminates a population, — I contend, has no rightful existence as a government. [Applause.] Write the word Scio on the Turkish record, and all Christianity and all law deny the right of such a power to be recognized as a government, in the ordinary European sense of that term. [Applause.] Recollect, in the second year of the old conflict, which began in 1821, the prosperous, fruitful, happy Island of Scio, with some one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, herself quiet and neutral, was visited by about two or three thousand patriots, and some resistance was made to Turkish law: upon which

the government let loose upon the island an army of some fifteen or twenty thousand men; and, in one or two months, but nine hundred living human beings of that population of one hundred and fifty thousand were left upon the land. Only forty thousand women and children, sold into slavery, survived of the whole population: the rest were butchered on their own hearths. Is that what civilization considers war? Are there any rights of belligerency to be acknowledged to such a power?

In the Social Scientific Congress at Ghent, in 1863, M. Clamageran, a distinguished French writer on political questions, speaking of the rule of acknowledging belligerents, said, "What shall be the criterion? Hitherto it has been the fact which has given birth to the right. If the insurrection lasts, the insurgents become belligerents; that is, by the fact. It is time to substitute, for this, justice and right. These are the principles: First, there must be oppression, and it must be manifested by the protests of the oppressed, who must have exhausted pacific means. Deny this rule, and you consecrate injustice and anarchy." This, I contend, should be the American doctrine; and the time will come when the law of Christendom will acknowledge it.

In the light of this claim, look briefly at the history of Crete. You recollect, when the Greeks rose in 1821, they sustained a nine-years' conflict against the Turkish Empire, assisted, as Dr. Howe has related to us, by the strength of Egypt. In 1827 occurred that battle of Navarino to which he has made reference. Shortly after, the Allied Powers made the Porte recognize the independence of Greece as a nation; but at the same time, by their own will, they undertook to say to Crete, — a portion of the Greek nation since history began, lying right upon the coast of the Morea, necessary to that kingdom for defence, recognized as such by Palmerston himself, an island that had maintained the most desperate conflict for nine years, writing the record in the blood of their women and children as well as their soldiers, — the Allies compelled Crete to submit again to Moslem control, as an appendage to Egypt; and it was afterwards restored to the Porte. Crete is no party to such oppression. In 1833,



in 1842, in 1858, she made an armed resistance. In 1865, she began a constitutional resistance. Having suffered every thing humanity could suffer in her previous risings, the inhabitants assembled in legitimate council, and sent to the Porte their respectful protest against the constant oppressions of Mahometan law. This was right, — the only justifiable course. No man is authorized in appealing to arms till he has exhausted all peaceful means, if such are possible. Nothing but argument will change opinion; everywhere, even in despotisms, opinion bears sway in the last resort. Victor Hugo says, "The flash of the sabre is a moment's gleam: right is an eternal ray." True; but sometimes the heavens are so dark, the only light we get is the sword's gleam. Barbarism bows to nothing else, knows no other logic. The JOHN BRIGHT for Turkey is the sword. Instead of answering this protest in the way known to constitutional governments, the Porte let loose upon the island his native and Egyptian troops, as in the previous contest, and, as Dr. Howe has told us, desolated the island from end to end, smothered the inhabitants in caves, and murdered every thing taken prisoner, — men, women, and children: no distinction of combatant and non-combatant, of age or sex or profession; every thing put to the sword. This is the history of the contest up to the present moment.

Let me read to you a spirit-stirring document, — the decree of the General Assembly of the Cretans, Sept. 2, 1866, after the Turks commenced this system of extermination: —

"Faithful to the oath taken in 1821, and to the will of the whole people, who desire the union and independence of the entire Hellenic race, it is decreed, —

"I. The sovereignty of Turkey is forever abolished in the whole territory of Crete and the places appurtenant to it.

"II. The indissoluble and eternal union of Crete and of all the places appurtenant to it, under the sceptre of his Majesty George I., is hereby proclaimed.

"III. The execution of the present decree is confided to the valor of the generous people of Crete, to the patriotism of our brother Hellenes wherever residing, and to the liberality of all Philhellenes, as well as to the powerful mediation of

the great nations protecting and guaranteeing it, and to the protection of Almighty God."

This is the decree of a nation rising into existence; and it comes to us as to every other people, making appeal to the world for sympathy in its claim, not of political and disputed rights, but of the inalienable, indisputable, and undeniable rights of human nature itself. [Loud applause.] Crete does not come to us asking that we will help her make a republic against a constitutional monarchy, but that we will help men striving to protect their natural rights to bread, worship, home, education, the ordinary safety of life and hearth, against a dominion which denies them all.

Why should we do it, particularly in this case? For one, I feel especially drawn to this population, because of the exceeding vitality of the blood which it represents. No matter how many races, either as conquerors or as emigrants, have taken up their abode in the Morea or on the islands; no matter what language or custom they have carried there: every thing has been absorbed and converted into Grecian, under the overwhelming power and vitality of the Greek blood. Like the Saxon in England and the Saxon here, no matter what race, no matter what language, no matter what custom, enters our limits, Normans, Celts, Latins, all are absorbed and digested into a nation whose normal character and law are still Saxon. The Chinese exhibit the same wonderful pertinacity of life. No matter what wave of conquest rolls over them in their history of centuries, re-appearing above the subsiding deluge comes ever uppermost the unchangeable form of the original Chinese blood and civilization. Now, by virtue of the right God has given to what is lasting amid human changes, such races have a right to live. [Applause.] Every thing disappears before them, because God has given them the inherent forces which make them a power, and would make them a blessing, in the world. The world owes a recognition to Greece. Greece, since the first page of history, no matter what her changes, has never ceased to be Greece. That is one claim. Secondly, she has another claim upon us, that, in every little privilege which events have accorded her, she has shown a wonderful recuperative power against all

previous oppression. I recognize well that rule which I think covers all cases of oppressor and his victim; that though it may be true, as Homer said,

"Whatever day  
Makes man a slave takes half his worth away,"

it is still more true, that whatever day makes man a tyrant takes *all* his worth away. [Applause.] Oppression does more harm to the oppressor than to its victim. That is the reason why, with all his faults of necessity and circumstance, the Greek, rising from these centuries of oppression, is still infinitely better than the Turk, who, by others' help, has been able to domineer over him. In every scale that weighs the character of their culture and civilization, there is no pretence even of comparison. True, the Greek has his faults. Men say he is cunning. But cunning is always the only defence of the weak against the strong. The strong man, like the strong brute, defends himself by force; and the weaker man, like the weaker animal, defends himself by the keenness of his cunning. The very oppression that robs men of the power to resist develops in the victim race this part of its intellect; but, in spite of that, the Greek has shown, in the prosperity that he has reaped since his independence, in the increase of population, in the great increase of wealth, in his accumulation of culture, in his schools and universities, that, only free him from the superincumbent weight, he will yet give us the eastern half of the Mediterranean back to civilization. In my view, the Greek is the New-Englander of the East. Men call him idle; but he has only been indolent when there was no security for the fruits of his industry. He is like ourselves in his characteristics. He wishes to toil with his brains, and not to be obliged to resort to the manual drudgery of his hands. The Yankee race skulks the primeval curse [laughter]; seeks to get its living without the sweat of its brow. It harnesses steam, and sends the lightning on errands. It invents. It undertakes to make man superior to the elements by the vigor of his intellect. The Greek does the same. Give him freedom, and he runs the same race. But that New-England race would have fought for the right to invent before they would have submitted to a continued exist-

ence of manual toil. [Applause.] The Greek, under his previous form of national life, has never had the freedom of development which we have enjoyed. Give to the Greek kingdom, the Greek race, on the soil which originally belonged to them, the opportunities and the liberty of development which we have had, and they will come nearer, as I read them, to the New-England race, in all the characteristics of their national life. Traders on the broadest basis, inventors subjugating nature to human intellect, and not to human hands, — this will be the character of their prosperity in the future. And they claim of us, as I said, sympathy on a broader basis than Italy has claimed it hitherto. After all, this great uprising in Italy has been one simply for a change of political masters, of political institutions. What oppressions she had were incidental to these. Greece cries out to us, “Civilization is fighting against barbarism; Christianity, against that intolerance which does not allow it the right to live or to worship: come to my aid!”

Well, they have chosen the happiest hour for their resistance, the one most hopeful for its success. In the first place, Turkey is but a farce. “The sick man,” as Chesterfield said, “is already dead and buried, only he does not wish it known among his friends.” [Laughter.] Europe sustains the farce of a government for some unexplained reasons of her diplomacy. Europe handed back Crete to her masters on some diplomatic grounds of the balance of power. Crete, for thirty-six years, has suffered every oppression which can be visited on men, women, and children; and that is enough for her to pay as penalty to the exigencies of European diplomacy. She rises now to ask of Europe her rights; and what can Europe reply? Europe may say, “There are some delicate questions of balance of power yet which oblige us to keep up the farce, the pretended government of Turkey.” How much weight that ought to have on a nation claiming unity and rights like the Greek, you can judge; but America, at least, has no interest in the balance of European politics. It is of no account to us, whatever it may be to Austria, to France, to Russia, to England, that this pretence and sham of a government be kept up at Constantinople. In the falling-apart of that bar-



barism, Crete claims her right,—a God-given right. She claims it of an empire that has not the power to protect, which has only the power to annoy. I say America is not bound, in this emergency, to pay the slightest regard to that pretence of a government which nothing but European diplomacy recognizes. Put aside the appearances of things. Turkey, with her exhausted exchequer, her entirely decrepit right hand, has no title to be considered a government. What has it ever done for Crete? What is the right by which governments exist? Cicero says, in one of his treatises, "*Quæ est enim civitas? Omnis ne conventus etiam ferorum et immanium? Omnis ne etiam fugitivorum ac latronum congregata unum in locum multitudo? CERTE NEGABIS.*" — "What is a state? Is every gathering of savages and barbarians such? Is every gang of fugitives and robbers a state? Certainly not."

No civil society, no government, can rightfully exist except on the basis of the willing submission of its citizens, and by the performance of the duty of rendering equal justice between man and man. A state must show, in the protection of its subjects, in the education of its children, in the creation of great public benefits, in roads, hospitals, harbors, commerce, in trade opened and protected, in the great benefits which civil society is meant to subserve and extend, or at least by an attempt to carry out these great human interests, her right to obedience and respect. Point me to the first effort that Turkish barbarism ever made since it encamped in Constantinople for any one of these things. Point me to one single road, school, hospital, public institution, or the preservation of public or private right in the island which it undertakes to govern, that it has ever pretended to help. Boston men, we are not to be the children of words; we are not to be duped by appearances; and, if there is a government against which these brother Christians and sons of civilization are contending, where is it? and what has it ever done? Nothing but murder its subjects; nothing but steal the bread of its laborers; nothing but cripple the development of its population; nothing but hamper commerce; nothing but gag speech and crush conscience; nothing but destroy every

element which makes civilization. If there is any thing in the history and attitude of this country, or in the elements which go to make up this government, we have a right to deny to such a government a place in the sisterhood of states. This is the ground on which I, for one, am willing to rest, and urge on this nation as a nation, and on us as individuals, the duty to help a struggling and undisputed nationality against a power which Europe has maintained only for her own selfish purposes. [Applause.]

I know very well, Mr. Chairman, that delicacy of international law which claims that this is a dangerous principle. But humanity has certain great rules. The brotherhood of man means something. It is not a phrase; and, if the brotherhood of man means any thing, then I say, that, when a state undertakes to treat its subjects as the Porte has treated the Christians for centuries, any nation has a right to help them; and no Christian people have a right to maintain such relations with the Porte as would prevent their helping them. I know the danger of this principle; but humanity must not surrender a right because tyrants may, under some pretence or other, abuse it. [Applause.] If you deny that rule, you consecrate injustice and anarchy under the form of law.

Now, considering the weakness of Turkey, considering that paralysis of the European States which exists at this moment, — that paralysis of France, England, Russia, Austria, which gave to Germany its splendid and prompt success, which explains why Bismark in an hour has made the long splendor of Napoleon fade away [applause], — that paralysis in the diplomacy of Europe is the opportunity of Greece. There is not a nation on the Continent that is in a condition to interfere. Turkey is nothing; and all these boasted realms around her, if they dare to put their flag behind the Crescent, risk such a European conflict as will make all Europe a new map within thirty years. France, anxious as she is to touch the Eastern question, knows it well. The sagacious Greek knows his opportunity. He has but to persevere, and he is certain of success. Fortified in his mountain recesses, he cannot be beaten. The island is divided by one single chain, running from end to end. It is the Switzerland of the East. Who has

been able, in eight hundred years, to subjugate the Swiss? It is San Domingo over again,—a race contending against alien blood for their homes; and, as Homer says, “to fight for one’s own home is half the battle.” [Applause.] Now, these Cretan men in their fortresses ask of us what? Bread for their wives and children, shelter from extermination. In the recent convent fight at Arkàdi, six hundred Cretans, — men, women, and children, — cooped within the walls of a convent, were assailed, I think, by ten thousand troops. When the battle had at last broken through the outer wall, it was sustained for six hours, hand to hand, in the yard of the convent. When the time came finally for the decision, death or submission, knowing well that out from under that Greek flag no living soul would pass, they themselves applied the match to the magazine, and went to heaven; while three thousand of their opponents went to their graves. [Applause.] A man is not obliged thus to die with wife and child rather than to submit to the conditions of civilized war. The Greek saw his wife and child on each side of him. It was not war he was waging, when, by surrendering his sword, he might be himself a prisoner, and their lives be saved. He was fighting, hand to hand, with pirates, *enemies of the human race*. The survivors, the brothers, the sons, the fathers, of those men, come to us, and say, “We can fight; but let us fight as civilized man fights, putting only our own lives on the hazard. Do not let us fight with the lives of wife and children hanging on the issue of the battle. Give us shelter, as Christendom has recognized warfare for a thousand years,—shelter and bread for woman and child.” And, with such a history as I have detailed, this is all the Cretan asks of America. Shall he have it? Will we do for this last gallant resistance of the Greek what our fathers did for the Morea? Will we, in this better opportunity; one so likely to open the whole Levant to Christianity and civilization; one so likely to make the Turk fold up his tent like the Arab, and silently glide from Europe,—will we hold up the hands of civilized warfare by rendering it impossible that the Turk should be a brute and a barbarian? The black race in San Domingo met from France the same edict of extermi-

nation; and, the moment the Frenchman issued it, he guaranteed his own defeat in the indomitable resolution to avenge which filled the hearts of his opponents. The moment the French sword knew no difference between man, woman, and child, the island rose like one man to an effort which made subjugation an impossibility. I read so the history of Crete.

Some fear to offer a new object of public sympathy, lest they distract that attention our own affairs require. No need of such fear. Every heart-beat in favor of liberty the world over makes the brain more skilful and the hand more active in dealing with treason at home. [Applause.] It is not by doing too much in good causes that men weaken themselves. It is by inaction, by a charity which begins at home and ends at home, that the strength rusts and the heart grows chill. Loyalty here lacks not means, but only a decisive purpose. Giving free rein to our sympathy will only feed this needed purpose. Self-sacrifice is a habit, and, like all habits, grows stronger by indulgence. On the contrary, by fidelity at home, we have at last won the right to offer help abroad. It is because one hand has never rested in its effort to resist oppression here that I feel justified in holding out the other to the oppressed of all lands. [Applause.] For the first time since we were a nation, the people of this Commonwealth may stretch out clean hands to help the world. Having been "reconciled to our brother," we may now "offer our gift." [Loud applause.]

Greece comes to us at a moment when the loyal North has proved that with one hand she could conquer rebellion, and with the other fend off the world, while she marched unflinchingly onward in her ordinary pathway of duty. We have enough left for this work; and if we owe aid to any one, or to any realm, we owe it to Greece. Christian civilization is a threefold band. We owe to the Jew the form and structure of our faith; to Goth and Saxon many precious elements and safeguards of civil life: all the rest — art, literature, science, law, diplomacy, and forms of government — we inherit from the classic storehouse of Greece and Rome. If they did not invent all, they improved and preserved for us the garnered wealth of the race. Using the tools they gave us, we grope



in the ashes of extinct dynasties, Egyptian and Oriental, to find where Greece herself sometimes studied. But for all, what she borrowed and what she discovered, our debt is to her. But for her, all would have been lost. It was at a Grecian shrine that Rome herself lighted that torch which flashed from the topmost of her battlements, "till the shores of three continents grew bright in its blaze." [Applause.] If it was Rome's "car of triumph that smoothed the path for the naked feet of the gospel," we owe to Greece that marvellous tongue, thanks to which the gospel did not "stammer in barbarous idioms." [Loud applause.] We live in the warmth of her art; we act in the light of her example. She gave us Thermopylæ; she gave us Athens. How shall we ever pay it back? Do not speak of gifts! Can a child, however rich, give any thing to a parent? It is only debtor and creditor. Greece summons her debtors the world over to pay back a tithe, a mere percentage, of the incalculable benefit that her intellect, her law, her example, have been to Christianity and civilization. True enough, as Dr. Huntington has told us, she may never play again that high-souled part in leading the race. No such one great leader is necessary. She has herself lifted us to her level. But she will take her place again, under proper sympathy, by the side of Italy in the great sisterhood of states. She will dispel that cloud which has rested so long over Eastern Europe. She will contribute the ingenuity, the activity, the courage, the enthusiasm, the indomitable perseverance, of her race to the great cause of self-government. We win her back where she belongs,—into the ranks of constitutional government. We place her where the world needs her,—in the very van of Europe, to represent the best form of its civilization. She is strong enough in her own sons, strong enough in her own determination, strong enough in her undying love of liberty. Missolonghi and Thermopylæ—they are not an iota nobler than the men who rally to-day in the mountains of Crete, with no sympathy from the world, with all Europe marshalled in appearance against them, and say, for the hundredth time, "One effort more to be men!" [Applause.] Every generation has brought up a holocaust of its young men and its best men to the altar

of this undying determination to be free. Have they not at least won the right for America and civilization to rally around them, and save them from this horde of pirates, from this encampment of barbarians, from this law of extermination? I think they have. I think we are only paying an honest debt. I thank God that the American people, in their own struggle, not yet completed, to wipe the blot from their own escutcheon, and make themselves the model state, should have this appeal made to them from the youngest of Continental governments. Greece, in the Far East, with manhood suffrage, a free press, toleration of every faith, jury trials, among the elements of her civil life,—is not that brotherhood? To what nation shall she go as nearer of kin to her than to England and to ourselves? She had the philosophy of Plato; she had the courage and eloquence which led the world. What needed she? Nothing but the old Saxon forms that guard individual right. Those she adopted; and having thus made herself the complete sister of Northern and Western civilization, the outpost of their future, she rises again, in the universal checkmate of Europe, in the bankruptcy and utter decrepitude of Turkey, to say to the world, “Give me one chance more!” And to us she sends the message, “Take off the burden of wife and child, that I may fight without this sickening of the heart! Desolation carried from one end of the island to the other, so that no green thing can grow upon it! I can starve. Only give a shelter in your homes, and, when they are there, bread, to wife and child, and I will give you back the East of Europe, the counterpart of the West.” [Applause.] We in Boston sometimes fondly arrogate to ourselves the name of “the Athens of America.” How poor our title, we ourselves know. But there is one evidence of the title that we can yet put forth; there is one demonstration of brotherhood and descent that we can now give to the world. When the right hand of Athens is stretched out for bread, let the first cargo which goes back from the world of Columbus go from the city that claims to be her sister. [Enthusiastic applause.]

Hon. John A. Andrew was presented at the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's address, and drew hearty applause from the audience. He said another engagement had detained him until the present late hour; and being ignorant of what had been said, and knowing he could add nothing, he thought he would discharge his duty in reading the following resolutions: —

### RESOLUTIONS.

*Resolved*, That, in the appeal to us of the women and children of the Island of Crete to save them from starvation, we recognize a claim upon our common humanity as irresistible as it is pathetic.

*Resolved*, That, as the last great struggle of Christianity against Mahometanism was fought out against the Turks by Venice in Crete; as her inhabitants were an integral part of the revolution against the Turks which gave Greece her independence, and had nearly expelled the enemy when the Allied Powers gave the island to Turkey against the prayers and protest of all Greece; as, under the Turkish Government, and its system of farming out its revenues, the Cretans have been oppressed past all endurance, and have taken up arms, and it is the old struggle of the Christian against the Infidel, of the Bible against the Koran, of Christian marriage against polygamy, of progress against barbarism, — we believe it to be the duty of Christians of all sects and creeds to save these women and children from starving, all the more because it may incidentally help their husbands and brothers in struggling for liberty and Christianity.

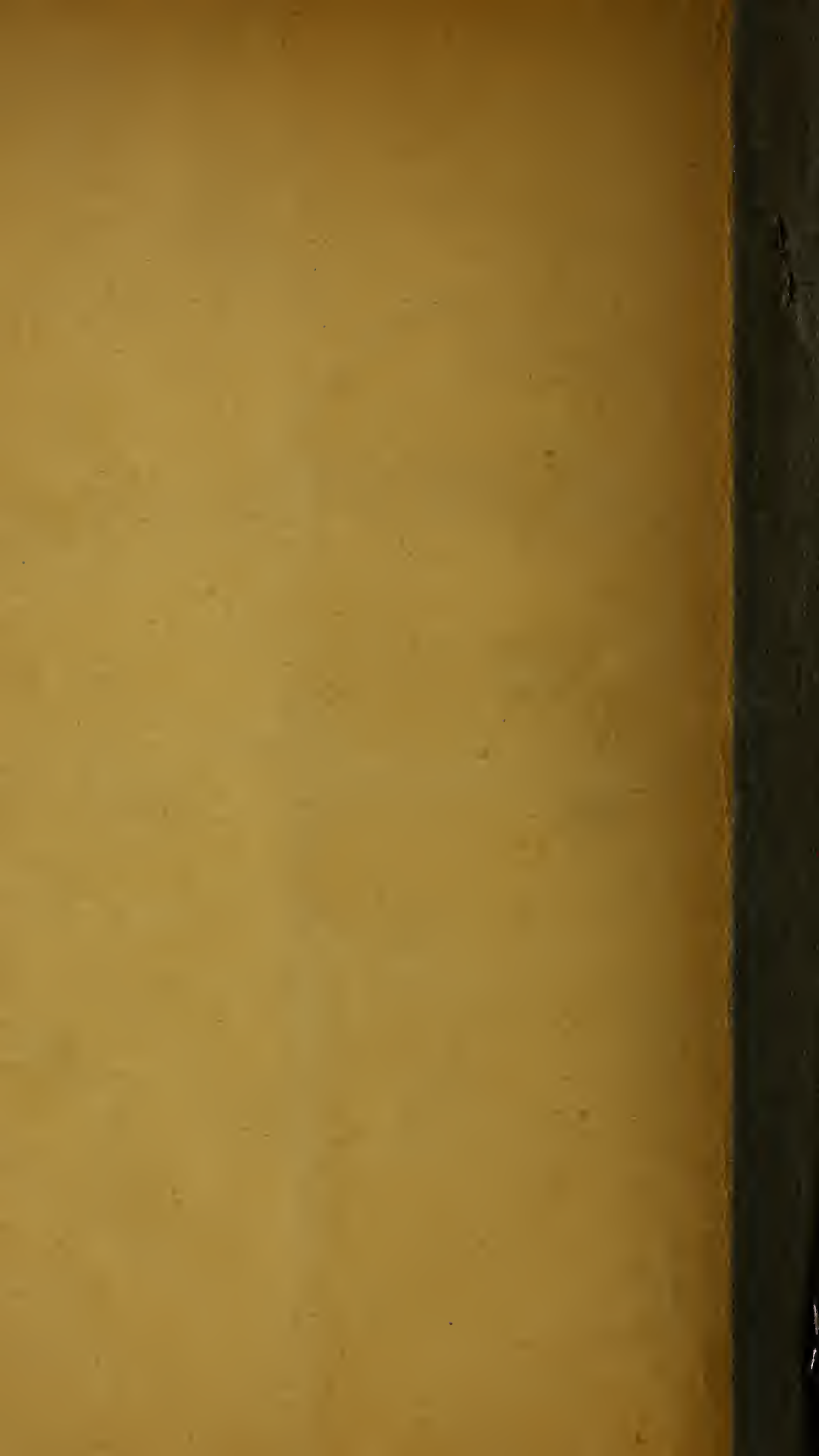
*Resolved*, That as, ever since her classic days, Greece has been able to put the stamp of her language and national character upon all those whose blood has been mixed with hers; as her written language to day is nearly identical with that of Plato and Æschylus; as Greece has a public school system unequalled by any in the world, and a university among the best endowed in Europe; as the Greeks are now the principal merchants and sailors of the Mediterranean, and, as a nation, quick-witted, united, progressive; as the Revolution of 1821 and the present one in Crete have given examples of self-sacrificing heroism worthy to stand with Thermopylæ, — we see in all these facts that her faults are mainly those of necessity and circumstance, and that, once all free, she may create a new history as imperishable as her old renown.

The resolutions were loudly applauded. At the close, Gov. Andrew said, I venture, Mr. Chairman, to make one single suggestion, — that if all of us were dumb to-night, if the eloquent voices which have stimulated your blood and inspired your hearts had been silent as the tomb, your presence, sir, would have been more eloquent than a thousand orations, when we remember, that, after the lifetime of a whole generation of men, he who forty years ago bared his arm to seize the Suliote blade speaks again with the voice of his age in defence of the cause of his youth. [Prolonged applause.]

The resolutions were then adopted unanimously, and with acclamations.









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